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The University of Hawaii Power Structure: The Contradictions

Take any bureaucracy in Hawaii. The scene is all too familiar: There is the top dog on the totem pole. He is invariably a white male, and his salary is double or triple the median family income of locals. His assistants, if any, are usually also white males, or else Asian think-tankers whose job it is to passively supply fiscal or technical aid. The secretarial pool, a neo-subservient class, is the latest victim of the male chauvinist colonizer, because the secretaries are nine times out of ten, Japanese women. And invariably, the sector which the bureaucracy is supposed to "service," is local, with an increasingly larger haole segment. In the basement of the bureaucracy toil those who do the "shit jobs"--delivering supplies in the heat of the day or sweeping the floors and whitewashing the toilets in the heat of the night, and not surprisingly, this "basement class" is composed of the brown people of Hawaii, whose hourly wages are piddling fractions of the haole bosses'.

The University of Hawaii, which is one of Hawaii's largest bureaucracies, provides a good model for analysis because its contradictions, especially in terms of class and race, are becoming increasingly obvious to those who pass under its rule. These contradictions are more glaringly apparent when an analysis of the internal dynamics of the power structures is undertaken. This analysis is the goal of the following paper. In a time when student and teacher organizing along Third World lines is in a virginal stage, it is increasingly important to know what kinds of power structures the oppressor uses to perpetuate or initiate the tactics of racism, sexism, and general imperialism. These tactics have long divided the local peoples of Hawaii, and have prevented us from seeing our real enemy and dealing with him effectively.

The Administration

The administration and support staff are apparently, the most powerful segment in terms of internal University

power dynamics. The center of authority revolves around the President. His five duties, as established by the State of Hawaii constitution are explained:

"The President shall be the chief executive of the University and shall exercise power under the Board for the government, protection, and advancement of the University in both its educational and its business aspects, in its colleges and sub-divisions, and in each of its affairs and interests. All the University faculties shall be under the direction of the President, who shall be an ex-officio member thereof."¹

The current president, Harlan Cleveland, like his predecessors, is a white male, of the bourgeoisie class. His salary, \$40,000 plus the use of the College Hill Mansion and one car, tops the Mayor's and barely rivals the Governor's. Also like his predecessors, Cleveland is a mainland import. But the exception is that he, like America's world empire, has had prior established contact in Shanghai, and Brussels, as well as Washington, D.C., the base of his "foreign service." Cleveland also can be heard boasting of his "lovely oriental maid" and his week-end retreat mansion on the Windward side. Cleveland's Vice-Presidents, who are paid a mere \$35,000 each, consist of the following: Stuart M. Brown, Vice-President for Academic Affairs; Richard S. Takasaki, Executive Vice-President; William W. Parsons, Vice-President for Business Affairs, and H. Brett Mendeny, Vice-President for Community Colleges. This V.P. set-up is illusive, though, because it quickly became apparent that the control of the University's internal matters was centered on the President's relationship with "Stu" Brown.

Brown, who is being groomed for the chancellorship of the Manoa campus when the University structure is revamped this summer, is rumored to have established contact with Cleveland while he (Brown) was an administrator at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Cleveland, whose previous contact with any structure of higher education was only long enough to pick up an A.B. degree (all his other degrees are honorary), probably saw in Brown everything that the President himself lacked: a working knowledge of university administration. Brown was

chairman of the Philosophy Department at Cornell before becoming its Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. In 1968, Brown jumped up to the Vice-presidency for Academic Affairs, but he resigned his position two years later to take the University of Hawaii job bearing the same title.²

That Brown was the key man in the U.H. administration, became glaringly apparent immediately. When the Larry Jones case reached its most public stage, it was Brown who whispered in the President's ear. When the ROTC issue exploded, it was Brown who chaired the "ROTC Committee" which sought to retain ROTC with minor alterations. It was Brown who "charged" the Committee to challenge or even change the provisions of the Faculty Senate Resolution which wanted ROTC offed, causing the resignation of ROTC foe Lawrence Piette, a faculty member. And, not surprisingly, it is Brown who will be the new Manoa Chancellor in 1972, when the Administration will be moved downtown.

Another key man in Cleveland's inner circle, is Doug Price, another white male. Price's credentials were impeccable: his father had been an assistant or deputy to Cleveland when the President had "served" in Shanghai, China, in the 1940's. Price, because of his youthfulness, was also important in terms of the President's strategy of infiltrating and coopting the leadership of the student body government, ASUH. It was Price who apparently influenced ASUH President Linda Luke to take a moderate line. It was Price who co-chaired the educational T.V. program, "The University, Today," which gave Price the legitimacy he needed to establish systematic contact with Luke.

The only other non-haoles on Cleveland's key administrative staff, were obviously used to show that Cleveland was doing his best to have "top oriental leadership." But a closer look will verify that Cleveland's racist paternalism goes further than his (Stuart) "Brown-power."

Richard S. Takasaki, who as Cleveland's Executive Vice-President, is naturally the most often pointed to as proof of Cleveland's "oriental front." This strategy enables Cleve-

land to work better with the locals in the Legislature and the Board of Regents. The best example of this exploitation of Takasaki's Japanese name, is that Takasaki will be the University's Interim Manoa Chancellor. He will be Chancellor until the permanent man can be "found." As revealed earlier, Stuart Brown is almost certain to get the Chancellorship. So Takasaki will inevitably be either phased out or retained for another "front" job.

Kenneth Lau, has traditionally been the respected legal brain-child of the U.H. For example, during the Bachman Hall student-occupation in 1968, it was Lau who "negotiated" with the demonstrators. Lau's official title was "Secretary of the University", which has led to widespread speculation that he was "kicked upstairs" and is merely waiting for Cleveland to turn him out to pasture.

Roy Takeyama, the Secretary of the Board of Regents, is also another example of the racism-paternalism that implies that all Asians are good for is "secretary positions." As Secretary of the Board of Regents, this past year, Takeyama was effectively used by Cleveland to deal with the Chairman of the Board of Regents, Charles Ota, a Maui businessman with a quick temper.³ During two confrontations with white radicals, once during the Larry Jones case and again during the hearings on the Student Conduct Code, it was Takeyama who apparently tried to keep the lid on ~~Takeyama's~~^{Ota's} outbursts. Hence, Takeyama was a good buffer for the haole boss, Cleveland. Takeyama took all the shit of the "in-fighting", and Cleveland came off looking calm, cool, and collected.

The two other Asian administrators are Paul Miwa and Sunzo Sakamaki. Paul Miwa is Cleveland's answer to the Asian administrator who forgot he was local. Miwa picked up the fixations of the white administrator early in the game. He began wearing his white shirt and tie when he was a professor in the Political Science Department, and when he promised not to embarrass anybody by speaking pidgin or eating sashimi, he was rapidly promoted to the Chancellorship of the Hilo cam-

pus after serving briefly as Director of the Division of Continuing Education. As proof that Miwa was the "local who you can be proud of," Cleveland allowed him to introduce Ralph Nader at the prestigious Honolulu Concert Theater, during Interim.

But perhaps the biggest race contradiction lies in Shunzo Sakamaki, who has long headed the expansive Summer Session. As Dean of Summer Session, Sakamaki has perhaps felt the sting of white colonization the most, for Sakamaki has traditionally surrounded himself with an all-Japanese staff to run the Summer Session. Perhaps unconsciously, Sakamaki has tried to express his underlying feeling: that he cannot bear to work with the haole administrator. Unfortunately, though, Sakamaki has chosen to emulate S.I. Hayakawa, who, incidentally, gave his "green beret" to Sakamaki during his last visit to Hawaii.

So in retrospect, out of a total of nineteen top administrative Deans and supporting staff, only six or one-third are non-haoles. The prediction is that as time goes on, this number and percentage will drop.

One final phenomenon to deal with in terms of the Administration, is the secretarial staff. Betty Tokioka and Nobu Masuda are typical of the colonialist practice of using Japanese women as clerical labor. Betty and Nobu, two workhorses who handle Cleveland's appointments and typing, are caught up with the servant mentality which teaches them that they "exist to serve the haole/boss." One example which shows that Cleveland enforces this master-slave relationship is his practice of calling up Nobu on a weekend afternoon to type up a speech or report in three or four hours. Cleveland does this without batting an eyelash. He knows that colonization has been complete, thorough, and deep.

The President and the Legislature-BOR Structure

It has been stated that the power of the University, in terms of external control is controlled by the Board of Regents.⁴ But a working analysis (practice) shows that the President has

chosen to deal selectively with the Board via one key man. Practice also shows that the State Legislature exerts a more powerful purse-string control over the University, and that here again, Cleveland has narrowed his interaction to a few key persons.

In the month-to-month workings of the University, Cleveland evidently has favored Regent, Harold Eichelberger. It is Eichelberger that Cleveland most frequently consults, and it is Eichelberger that Cleveland feels most at home with. And it is no wonder. Their class backgrounds are almost similar. Both attended elite haole schools: Eichelberger went to Punahou and Cleveland attended Andover Academy. Both epitomized rapid "upward mobility": Eichelberger started as an Amfac office boy and rose to become Chairman of the Board, while Cleveland began as a petty foreign service officer and became Ambassador to Nato. Both belong to the most exclusive, racist, elitist, social clubs: Eichelberger lounges at the Oahu Country Club and the Pacific Club, while Cleveland has held memberships in an elite golfing club in Brussels, Belgium, and the International, in Washington, D.C. 5

In his yearly dealings with the State Legislature, over the budget proposals, Cleveland deals personally with the big boys. He doesn't trust any flunkies to mess things up, not when the stakes are in the millions of dollars. Cleveland has a policy which dictates that only he himself, Vice-President Brown and the Deans and Directors of Special Units may engage in actual lobbying or testimony for monies. Any one who desires to speak to the Legislators, however, must submit a written text to the President or Brown a few days before testimony is to take place.

The two "big boys" are Rep. Kimura, who is chairman of the House Committee on Higher Education and Senator Wong, chairman of the Senate Committee on Higher Education. Kimura, who prides himself on being a "liberal," actually fought for having two students on the Board of Regents. Wong, on the other hand, is a Burns man, a freshman senator, and patently conservative.

College Deans and Department Chairmen

In terms of the formulation of academic policies and procedures, the Council of Deans, which is composed of all the Deans of the various Colleges, ranks directly under the rule of Vice-President Brown. The Council of Deans must approve such things as new courses, new Departments, changes in curriculum. The Council of Deans, now called the Academic Procedures Committee, is a good example of the typical white male chauvinism perpetuated by the University. The composition is as follows:

David Contois, Dean of Arts and Sciences
Ralph Hook, Dean of Business Administration
Hubert Everly, Dean of Education
John Shupe, Dean of Engineering
C. Peairs Wilson, Dean of Tropical Agriculture
Windsor Cutting, Dean of Medicine
Edith Anderson, Dean of Nursing
Edward O'Rourke, Dean of Public Health
Herbert Aptekar, Dean of Social Work
Ralph Miwa, Dean of Continuing Education
Robert Stevens, Dean of Library Studies

In true style, out of eleven positions in the powerful Council of Deans, only one woman and one Asian are Deans. The remaining nine are white males. It is also interesting to note that the one female is . . . you guessed it-- Dean of Nursing. The sole Asian male is Dean of Continuing Education, which is the fancy equivalent of "night school." The white bureaucracy knows that older citizens of the community who usually take night courses because they work during the day, would immediately spot the contradictions of dealing with a haole bureaucrat, so it is not wonder that Miwa, a Japanese Banana, was made Dean.

If the race contradictions and male chauvinism are rampant in the Council of Deans, then the atrocities in the Department Chairmanships, are blatant.

The Chairman of the Department is a very powerful figure. It is the Chairman who appoints the committees and has ultimate say in the hiring and firing of faculty and teaching assistants. It is the chairman who oversees the distribution

of funds and grants. The fact that the Chairman is elected by his fellow Department members is indicative of the racist, chauvinist composition of the Departments themselves. The following is a chart which shows the contradictions in just one College, Arts and Sciences. Because there are too many Departments to list, Arts and Sciences was chosen. Furthermore, Arts and Sciences is the largest College in terms of staff, faculty, and students. This is the breakdown, including the secretaries:

<u>Department:</u>	<u>Chairman:</u>	<u>Secretary:</u>
American Studies	Seymour Lutzky	Clare Nakahata
Anthropology	Richard Lieban	Irene Takata
Architecture	Hugh Burgess	Joyce Masui
Art	Edward Stasack	Amy Iwata
Asian and Pacific Language	John DeFrancis	Elizabeth Kishimoto
Asian Studies Program	Daniel Kwok	Machiko Tsuruya
Botany	N.P. Kefford	Harriet Matsumoto
Chemistry	Richard Inskeep	Agnes Hiramoto
Drama and Theater	Earle Ernst	Nancy Takei
Economics	Burnham Campbell	Julie Pila
English	Joseph Maltby	Lorraine Nagata
English as a Second Lang.	Mark Lester	Naomi Hirata
European Languages and Literature	Richard Seymour	Estelle Freitas
Geography	Roland Fuchs	Kathleen Yahiku
Geosciences	Simo Laurila	Betty Okinaga
History	Herbert Margulies	JoAnne Yamashita
Linguistics	Byron Bender	Wendy Onishi
Mathematics	H.S. Bear	Jessie Nakata
Microbiology	Albert Benedict	Cheryl DeMello
Music	Armand Russell	Alice Mishina
Oceanography	Keith Chave	Linda Agawa
Overseas Career Prog.	Windsor Hackler	Sharon Sakaguchi
Philosophy	Winfield Nagley	Sachiko Sugimoto
Physics and Astronomy	John Holmes	Glenna Sumiye

<u>Department:</u>	<u>Chairman:</u>	<u>Secretary:</u>
Political Science	Michael Shapiro	Jeanette Matsuda
Psychology	Ronald Johnson	Utako Sakimoto
Religion	Robert Bobilin	Janet Yamamoto
General Science	Jan Newhouse	Barbara Hoshida
Sociology	Gene Kassebaum	Jessie Ohta
Speech-Communication	Richard Rider	Velma Francisco
Zoology	Andrew Berger	Linda Tanaka

Out of thirty departments in the College of Arts and Sciences, only one is Chaired by a non-haole. Even Daniel Kwok, though, is considered a Director and not a Chairman, since Asian Studies is more a Program rather than a Department. Kwok, it is to be added, has a haole wife, and sends his kids to Punahou--so much for Asian representation. It also hardly needs to be pointed out that the one Program headed by a non-white is, you guessed it, Asian Studies. The rest of the Chairmen are 100% white males.

The composition of the Secretary class points out not only the sexism of subverient women by the ruling white male elite, but also male chauvinism combined with racist colonization which perpetuates the idea that local women exist to serve their haole bosses. Not only are every single one of the thirty secretaries female, but the ethnic breakdown is equally interesting: twenty-seven have Japanese names, one has a Hawaiian name, and the remaining two have Portuguese sounding names (which could also be haole).

This colonialist structure is quite typical of the University: white male on the top and Asian female on the bottom.

The internal structure of the Arts and Sciences college also provides an interesting model of the contradictions, especially in terms of race. The breakdown is as follows:

Dean.....	David Contois
Associate Dean.....	Phillip Olsen
Assistant Dean.....	Roger Hadlich
Fiscal Officer.....	Shigeto Minami
Notary Public.....	Kayoko Hashizume
Student Services.....	Al Levy

It is interesting to note that again, out of six top positions, four are white males. The two non-haoles, both Japanese, are employed in budgetary and business roles. This racist set-up is perpetuated by the white power structure's insistence that Asian males be used in the "brain" and "money" positions, but this same structure would never allow Asian males to be Dean of Students, or any other position which would "embarrass" the white power structure. After all, how could an Asian male possibly relate to a haole female student in need of advice?

The Faculty

An analysis of the Faculty composition reveals not only the typical race contradiction, but also the class contradiction which marks the bureaucrat class at the University of Hawaii. In the general listing of instructors in the 1970/71 General Information and Catalog of the Manoa Campus, the following data was obtained:

Total Instructors Listed.....1,419 (est.)

Ethnic Breakdown:

Japanese.....	170
Chinese.....	108
Asian Nationals.....	19
Korean.....	11
Hawaiian.....	6
Filipino.....	5

*Total Local (Including Asian Nationals)..319

*Total Haole.....1,100

What this means is, that even by the crudest form of calculation, the implication is undeniable. With haoles composing some 75% of the teaching faculty, and Locals and other non-whites composing the remaining 22% (with a 3% margin for error), it is clear that the University is dominated by the white power structure at the most basic level, the level of teaching and instruction. What this means is that many students could conceivably go four years at the University of Hawaii without being taught by a single non-white, leading some students to believe, and justifiably so, that the University either does not employ non-whites, or else non-whites are too

lazy, stupid, or preoccupied to qualify for teaching positions. Using even the rawest of data, it is easy to see that Asians are grouped in the fields of Engineering, Mathematics, and other technical fields, while the few Hawaiians listed are employed mainly as Hawaiian language instructors or Physical Education teachers.

This stratafication brings to mind Eldridge Cleaver's definition of the "Omnipotent Administrator" who uses brain dominance (Asians) and the "Super-Masculine Menial" who is all body (Hawaiians).⁶ In rough terms, this means that the only place for Asians is in the quiet, passive, horn-rimmed glasses, land of the slide-rule; while Hawaiians, what few that are admitted, can only make it using their body in football classes or courses on Hawaiiana.

But perhaps the greatest contradiction lies in the salaries of University of Hawaii faculty, which clearly delineate the teacher as the professional bourgeoisie whose income may double or triple the median income of a family of four in Hawaii. Here is the breakdown according to the "University of Hawaii Salary Schedule A, Manoa and Hilo Campuses," effective July 1, 1970:

Year:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Instructor: \$ 7,596 (monthly)----	633	\$ 7,896 658	\$ 8,208 684	\$ 8,532 711	\$ 8,868 739	\$ 9,228 769	\$ 9,600 800
Asst. Prof: 9,600 (monthly)----	800	9,984 832	10,380 865	10,800 900	11,232 936	11,676 973	12,144 1,012
Assoc. Prof: 12,624 (monthly)----	1,052	13,128 1,094	13,656 1,138	14,208 1,184	14,772 1,231	15,360 1,280	15,972 1,331
Full Prof: 16,608 (monthly)----	1,384	17,268 1,439	17,964 1,497	18,684 1,557	19,428 1,619	20,208 1,684	21,012 1,751

Using this salary schedule, which is based on a "work nine months, but paid for twelve months" schedule, it is incumbent to note that Associate and full Professors earn in the top ten percent bracket of family income for the county of Honolulu, alone.⁷ As will be explained later, the fact that salaries come out of the Universities operating budget, insures that most professors will

not rock the boat, especially if they do not have tenure. Also, with collective bargaining coming up, the salary schedule will be up for review, and it will not be surprising when professors' salaries will be well within the range of the big businessmen's. Furthermore, since the faculty is composed mainly of white males, this means that 1) the bulk of University funds and grants, are tied up in the white male power structure, 2) faculty positions in terms of department appointments and administrative appointments, will reflect a white male bias, 3) the majority of teaching assistantships will be slanted as to favor white males, 4) university governance will also be weighed in favor of the haole male. But more important, this power structure means that the quality of instruction and research will be racist, anti-local, and insensitive to the need for even basic social changes in the communities. This means that faculty, who have no vested interest in the local people, will teach or do research merely for the sake of study and grants, with no real tie to an indigenous base.

The major power source of the faculty is manifested in the Faculty Senate, which elects faculty members into a decision-making body that passes on faculty-related and other academic policies. Quite briefly, the power of the Faculty Senate is concentrated in the Chairman or President, the Senate Executive Committee, and the Program & Curriculum Planning Committee. The Program & Curriculum Planning Committee (P & CP) is to be considered because it is one of the most powerful bodies in the University. This Committee must approve or act on any changes in the curriculum, such as: the initiating of new programs or departments, the proposal for new degrees, the altering of programs. Some good examples of this Committee's power are found in some of the key issues of University policy that ~~has~~ to pass through this Committee: the initiation of Pass-Fail, and Pass-No Credit; the review of ROTC, Ethnic Studies, Honors, and New College (this will come up shortly), the proposal for a PhD. in Math, the proposal for a B.A. in Ethnic Studies (future)

as well as other academic proposals.

The Student as Nigger

As can be expected, the key personnel who come in contact with students, who can control student policies, who can keep tabs on student activities, who can co-opt student initiative, are part and parcel of the white male bureaucracy. Consider these statistics on the student population:

Total U.H. Students on Manoa Campus.....21,090

Percentage break-down, ethnic groups

Japanese.....	39.6%
Haole.....	32.5
Chinese.....	11.5
Mixed.....	5.6
Filipino.....	2.9
Part-Hawaiian.....	2.9
Korean.....	1.3
Black.....	.7
Samoan.....	.2
Other.....	1.7

Judging from these statistics, the people who would probably best relate to students would be local staff. But an analysis of those who control students reveals otherwise.

When Harlan Cleveland appointed Sy Ellingson as Dean of Students, he did so with a purpose, with a deliberation. He knew that since most local students, especially local males, find it unable to relate to haole male authority figures, a haole in charge of student services would be the ideal way to divide students, pacify them, and render them impotent. In such areas as housing, where students are especially hassled, especially students from the outer island and rural areas who need University-area housing, the white male in charge of housing is James Burgoyne, who lives in Kailua. How could this man, who has every conceivable race and class privilege, possibly relate to the housing problems which local people

must face every day. Is it no wonder that student housing has degenerated into a mere bulletin board where prospective landlords list their paltry openings?

But the worst is yet to come. The real area where the white male power structure exerts itself is in the area of student government and student activities. The center of administrative dominance is the Bureau of Student Activities (BSA), which coordinates extra-curricular activities, and most important of all, provides "staff advisors" to the Campus Center Board (student dances, football tickets, rock concerts, etc.) and the ASUH (\$190,000 budget per year). In this position, which works closely with the local students who compose the student government, is none other than Jack Cross, a haole from British Columbia. As head man, Cross is able to be boss over three Japanese student staff: Diane Morisato, Take Harada, and Kikue Takagi. It is a well known fact that Cross knew about the ASUH surplus of \$160,000 long before the public heard about it, an indication that the administration's spy system was well under operation.

If co-option is not the name of the administration's game, then the following evidence has not been considered. Two years ago, three of the brightest-looking prospects in terms of student leadership were: John McKay, Bruce Bikele, and Allan Yukitomo. All three were active in ASUH: McKay in the area of student services reform, Bikele in the peace movement, and Yukitomo in the revision of the student fee schedule. All three were hired by the administration as aids in Bachman Hall. Bikele, who had previously been active in the Oliver Lee Bachman Hall Sit-In, reversed his ideas, and was last seen taking down the names of students who participated in the ROTC Sit-In down in the Quarry last year. In addition to Bikele's spying, it is a known fact that Cleveland uses Bikele (a six foot six inch, 300 pound gorilla) as protection at student confrontations with the Administration, such as in the Larry Jones case.

As far as this year's ASUH President, it was a known fact that Doug Price, the Assistant to Cleveland, was assigned to keep tabs on ASUH through his frequent association with Linda Luke. In this way, Cleveland was able to keep on top of the Larry Jones case, at least until Linda was betrayed by Cleveland in the McAteer incident when she declared that she had "seen through Cleveland's game."

It is incumbent on those engaged in student organizing, to be at the forefront of University issues, especially those issues which concern local students, repression, and the other contradictions of racism, chauvinism, and imperialism. The following are some issues which should be seized:

1) The hiring of the new Campus Pig, William Herrmann, who is a veteran of the Los Angeles Police Department, which repressed blacks as documented in Rivers of Blood Years of Darkness.⁸ Hermann, whose new position will be "assistant vice president for business affairs", will earn \$35,000 a year as the campus snooper. Police Chief Keala, it is to be noted, makes \$26,000. In a luncheon meeting with several faculty, Herrmann admitted that he wants to "compile dossiers on people suspected of being a threat to the University in the future." This means that when repression does come, it will probably be the white pig against the local students. Every effort should be made to keep tabs on this pig and his spy system.

2) The University cannot tolerate the hiring of Stuart M. Brown as the new Manoa Chancellor. Every effort should be made to prevent his being hired. An example of Brown's awesome fascism, is when, at his whim, the Johnson Hall Program was offed the budget. Brown acknowledges that it was he who vetoed the Program. This leads to the view that should any program, faculty, student, or department, become too radical, Brown will not hesitate to off it or him..

3) One final issue is all-encompassing: the role of

the University as seen from the Third World Perspective. This means students must a) raise the question of the racist, sexist nature of the University power structure; b) expose the illegitimate marriage of the University with the military, in terms of ROTC, defense contracts, c) dispel the myth that the university is "non-political" by exposing the selective research, which ignores basic issues for Hawaii's people--housing, land, food, tourism, and d) fight the Second Campus land deal with Campbell or Bishop estate. That students express solidarity with Kalama Valley is a foregone conclusion.

The Working Class

The exploitation of students and staff by the white male structure, is nothing compared to the real dominance faced by the "shit crew"--those who have to clean up the mess created by the University bureaucracy. These are the utilitymen, the groundskeepers, the janitors, the electricians, who are mainly local people. It is they who feel the contradictions the strongest--they see daily their white bosses who order them around, they feel daily the class privilege flaunted by students everyday who dump garbage on the ground, who clog up the urinals, who throw cigarette butts at will. It is this working class which is beginning to move with personal militancy against anyone who would enforce the master-slave, master-servant relationship.

A good example of the race contradictions is seen in the midnight crew of janitors who work each night from 10 o'clock until the next morning. Organized by U.P.W., these night janitors number about 65, and are almost 100 percent local: Japanese, part-Hawaiian, Filipino, and Portuguese. Every effort should be made to identify with these workers' oppression and to eliminate the student mentality of class privilege which divides the students from the working class.

The racism-colonization is perpetuated by these brown people in their green "uniforms" who are especially enraged by haole students who take advantage of them. This working class will not, however, submit to the long-enunciated idea

that the workers are here to "serve the children of the haole bosses."

Schematic Representation of the University Internal Dynamics

The remainder of this paper will deal with the working process of the power structure, or how the structure works in practice. This ^{is} necessary in evaluating the dynamics of such things as: the budget procedure both internally and externally, the academic procedure for curriculum, as well as the internal Department dynamics.

Diagram 1: The Administration and the LEG. and BOR

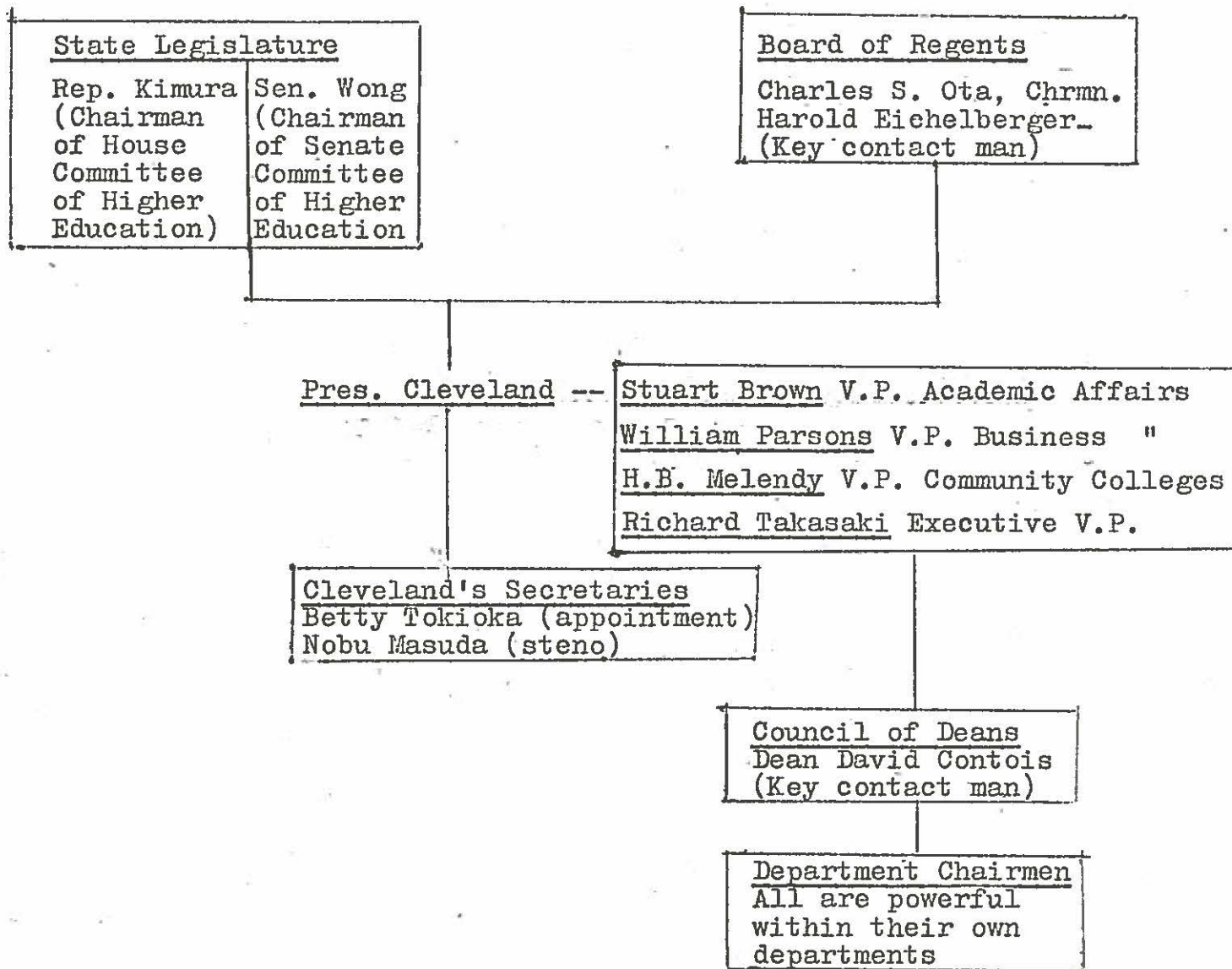


Diagram 2: The Budgetary Process

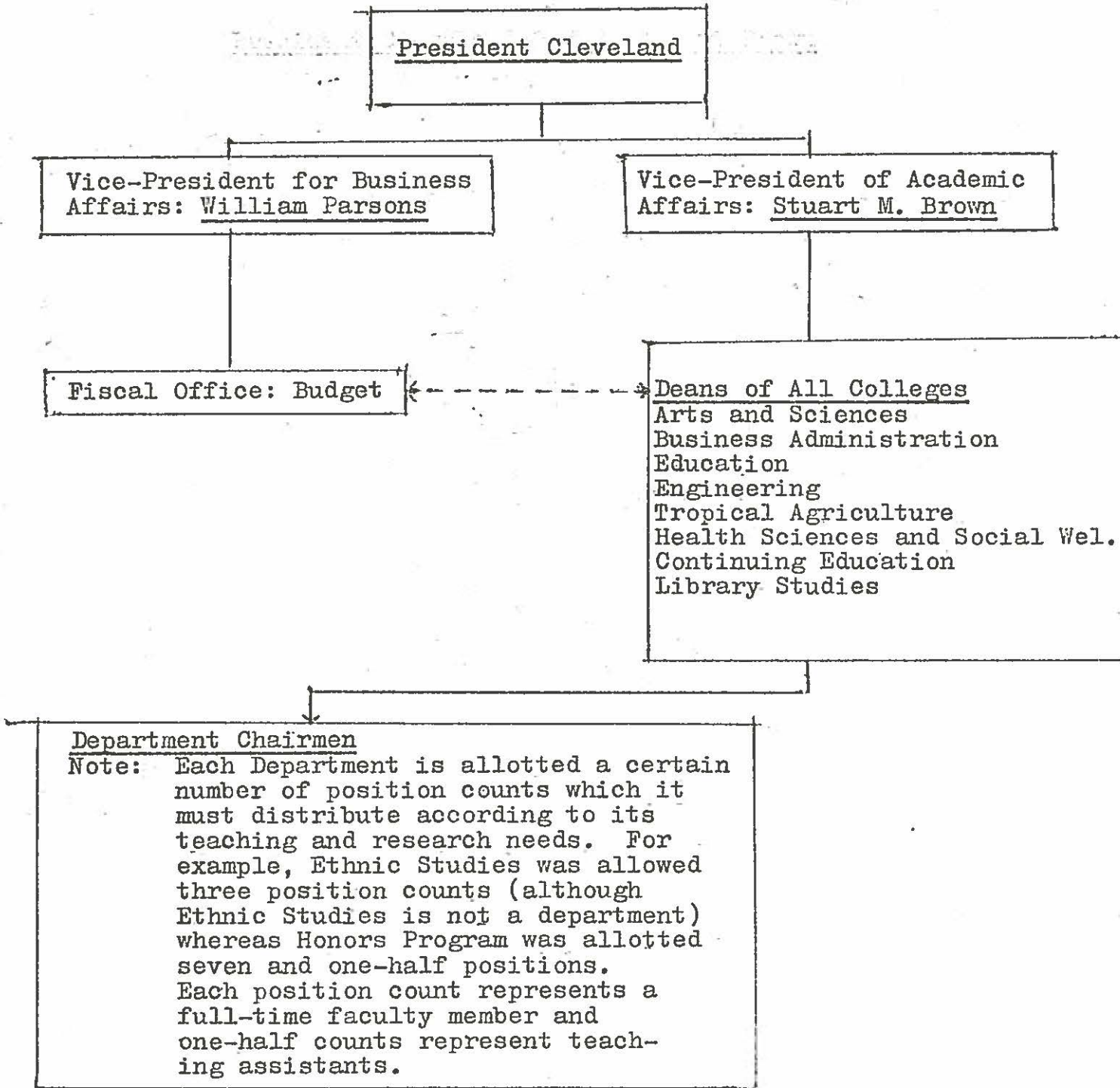
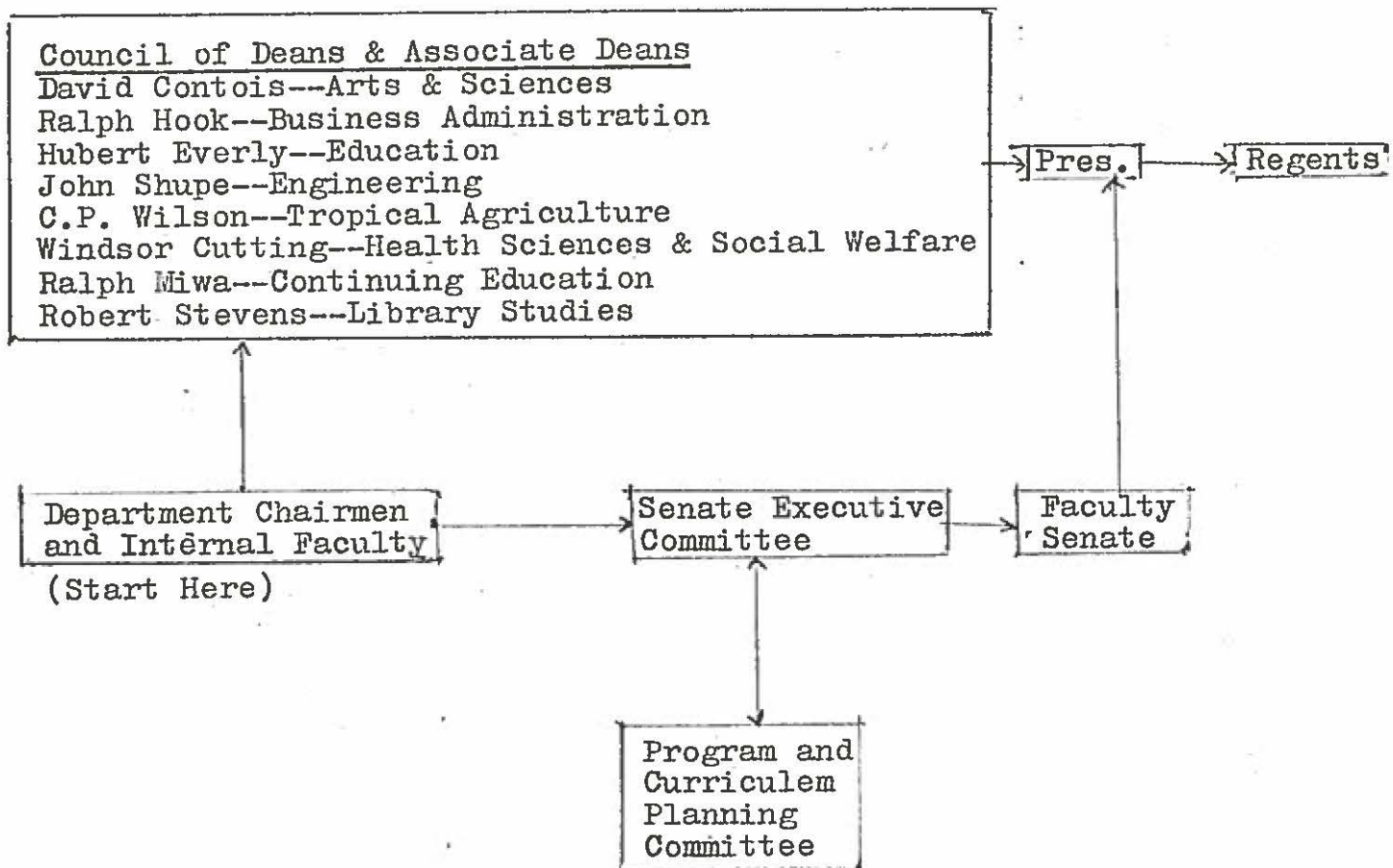


Diagram 3: Academic Decision-Making



Footnotes

¹Article IX-Education, Section 5. Board of Regents; Powers, Constitution of the State of Hawaii.

²Who's Who, 1970-'71 Edition.

³Chairman Ota was responsible for two quotes: "I don't give a fuck about Larry Jones, tell the students they can shove it up their asses," and concerning the Student Conduct Code he said, "We're going to pass this Code if we have to shove it down your throats."

⁴Who's Who, 1970-'71 Edition.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice, "Primordial Mitosis."

⁷The State of Hawaii Data Book, Department of Planning and Economic Development--State of Hawaii, 1968, p. 17.

⁸Robert Connant, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness, see all references to Los Angeles Police Department and Chief Parker.